

THE  
S I G H S  
OF  
FRANCE  
IN  
SLAVERY,  
Breathing after  
LIBERTY.

---

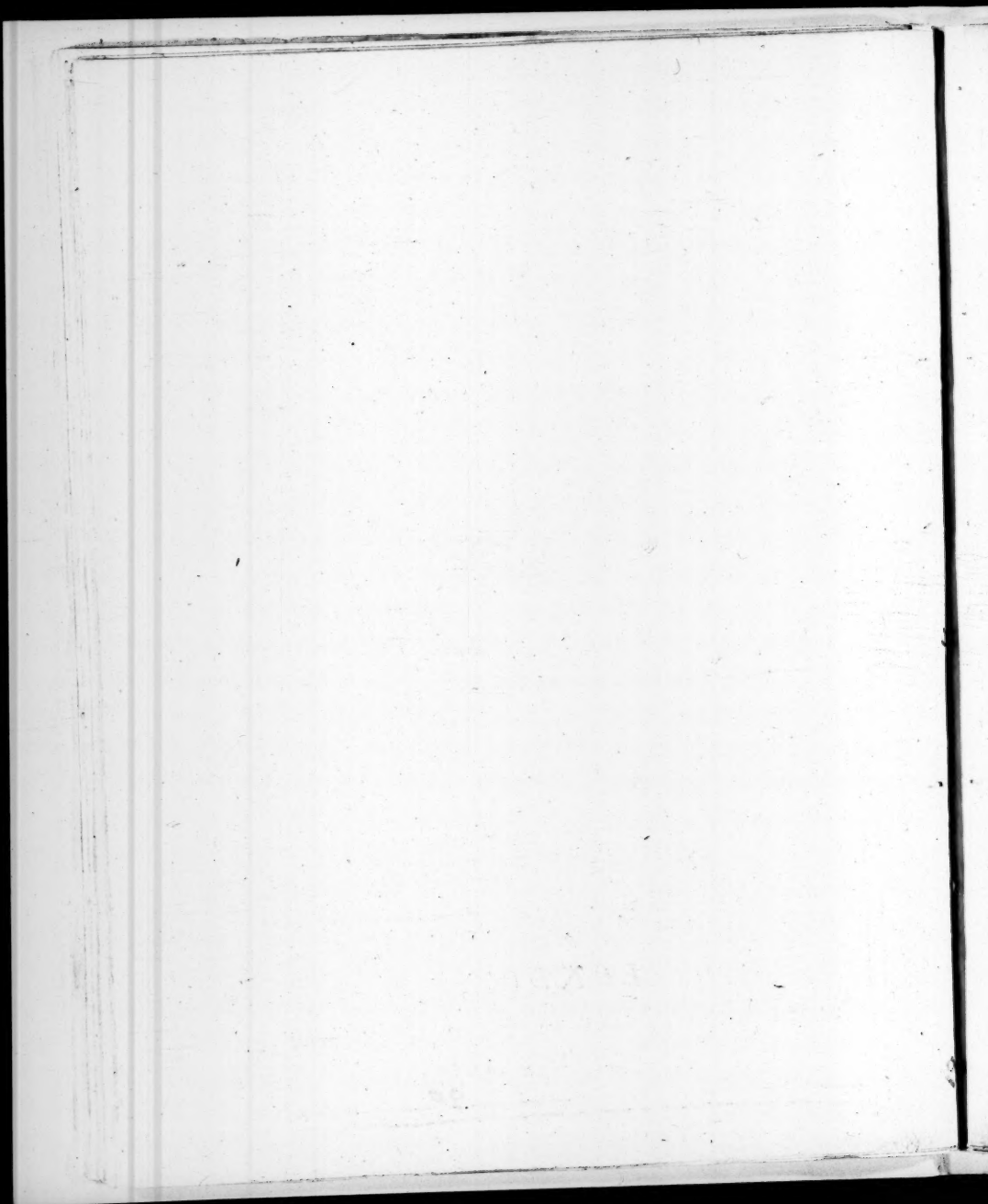
The THIRD  
M E M O R I A L.

---

Done out of *FRENCH*.

---

LONDON,  
Printed for D. Newman at the Kings Arms in  
the Poultry, 1689.





I

THE  
Sighs of France  
IN  
SLAVERY, &c.

---

III. Memorial.

---

*The sad Effects of the Arbitrary and Despotick Power of the Court of France : That that Power is full as Despotick as that of the Grand Seignior.*

WE have hitherto represented the State of the Oppression under which the Church, Parliaments, Nobility, Cities and People of *France* do labour ; the dismal Imposts whereby the Kingdom is drain'd ; the unhappy Use that is made of the Finances and Revenues, and of so much Blood as issues out of the Subjects Veins. Now we are to consider the Source or Fountain-head of these Mischiefs, and of several others which we have not yet touch'd upon. This is the Despotick Might and Arbitrary Power, absolute and boundless, which the *French* Kings attribute to

themselves, and which *Lewis* the 14<sup>th</sup>. has exercis'd, and does exercise after such a manner, as to cause all Countries (that have Kings) to tremble. The *French* King does not think himself bound by any Laws; his Will is the Rule of good and right; he thinks he is not obliged to give an Account of his Conduct, save to God alone; he persuades himself that he is the absolute Master of the Lives, Liberties, Persons, Estates, Religion and Conscience of his Subjects: A Maxime that causes a Body to tremble, and be seized with horror, when he considers the consequences of it, and that before his Eyes he views the present results of such a Position. Who would not tremble, to think that the Life and Death, good and ill Fortune of so many Millions of Men, should depend upon the Caprice of one alone? and who would not shed Tears, to consider a whole vast Kingdom reduced into so sad an Oppression, and so many Millions of Men brought into so profound a Misery, to satisfy the Passions of one single Man? Hereafter we will shew, that this *Despotick* Power is so opposite to Reason, that it may be termed *Madness*; so opposite to Humanity, that it may be termed *Brutal* and *Inhumane*; nay, so opposite to the spirit of *Christianity*, that it may be termed *Antichristian*. But for the present we shall rest satisfied with displaying the sad effects it produces in *France*, and how it is there exercised in the sight of the whole Earth.

This *Despotick* Power is it that has tumbled the *Gallican* Church into its present Oppression. All *Christian* Princes have ever found satisfaction and honour in styling themselves Sons of the Church, and in paying Her Obedience in that quality: If they have been Her Fathers, that lay in protecting and defending Her, and not in governing, much less tyrannizing over Her. The Church is governed by her Pastors, and according to the *Cánons*; but the Court of *France* has rais'd Her self above all Pastors, all are Slaves of the Court, and if they do not basely submit to Her, they are treated as Enemies. She has not as yet found out the trick of Deposing a Bishop of Her own Authority, but she has found the means to render his Priesthood useles, and to force him from  
his



his Flock. She begins with the Privation of the Temporalty : When a Bishop has no longer any Means to live in his Church, it is natural that he forsake it ; for the Ministers of the Altar ought to live of the Altar : If this does not speed, and that the Bishop be so honest a Man as to crave Alms in keeping close to his Church, comes an Order from the King that sends him packing to the end of the World, and confines him to one of the farther corners of the Kingdom, where he languishes, much less through the profound Misery to which he is reduc'd, than out of Grief, to know that in his absence his Flock is given up to a company of Mercenaries, or rather to Wolves, that devour and destroy it in lieu of feeding it. If this be not sufficient, the Bishop's Exile is chang'd into Imprisonment ; thus is He a Man that is made to vanish from before the eyes of the World, and is never seen more : The Menaces, the Requests, and all the Authority of the Holy Father, do nothing therein avail : When the Court vouchsafes to slacken somewhat of these Proceedings, and condescends to observe Forms of Justice, she causes some Bishops to be nominated that are her Slaves, to make those Holy Bishops Process. Whom she has a mind to dispatch, they are found Guilty, Rebellious, Disobedient to the Courts Orders, they are deprived of their Priesthood, and abandoned to the secular Arm.

The Church has her Laws and her Canons, according to which she ought to be governed. The King, who is a temporal Prince, does not take notice of the Churches Canons, nor does not think himself subjected to them : He treads those Canons under foot : When the General Council of *Lyons* against the Extension of the *Regalia* is put to him, He sets himself above that Council and all others, while at the same time he causes Assemblies to be held for the subjecting the Pope to the Councils and Canons ; for his part he sets himself above all, Pope, and Holy See, and Council, and Canons. The Canons will not allow that a Man nominated to a Bishoprick, do perform any Office of Bishop, or any *Episcopal* Function, until he has been consecrated, that he has his Bulls, and has the Consent of the Holy See : But the King,  
to

to the Prejudice of all these Laws, so holy and so just, send<sup>s</sup> a Divine unto a Bishoprick, and there gives him all Jurisdiction, and causes him to exercise all the Power he could have, had he been consecrated and confirmed by the Holy Sec. The Cannons do expressly forbid Translations from one See to another, unless there be great and considerable Reasons; Reasons which the Church ought ever to be Judge of: The King out of his full Power, Authority, and absolute sway, removes a Bishop from a small Bishoprick to a greater, according as he thinks it expedient for his own Interest, without consulting Church or Pope, and without any Form. The Cannons require, that Religious Houses be subject, either to the Pope, of whom they immediately hold, or, at least, to the Ordinaries, according to the Reformation of the Council of *Trent*: But the King renders himself immediate Sovereign of those Houses, both for spirituality and for temporality; and we have seen how he takes upon him to give Superiours and \* Superiours to the Order of *Clugni*, to the Maidens of *St. Claire*, called *Urbanists*; how he has ruined the House of *Charonne*, and how he has abolished the Maidens *de l'Enfance*. It is the Despotick Power and absolute Might that does all this: The King will have it so, there needs no other Reason. By the Cannons, the Church is Mistress of her Sacraments, to give them to such as she judges worthy of them, and to refuse them to such as she thinks unworthy of them: 'Tis now no longer so; the King by his absolute Power is become Master of the Sacraments, for the causing them to be given to Unbelievers and to Hereticks: The miscreant *Calvinists* must be made to communicate whether they will or no, on Pain of the Gallies, or be drawn upon a Hurdle, because the King will have it so.

It is through the same Despotick and Arbitrary Power that all the Priviledges of the Nobles, Parliaments, Cities and People, have been made void, revoak'd, annull'd, or render'd useles; which occasions their being under those Oppressions that has been already represented to you. There is no Realm, Sovereignty or State among *Christians*, but where the Priviledges are accounted irrevocable, when they have been

\* Of the Female Sex.

been solemnly granted; unless the Reasons which occasion'd the granting of those Priviledges have notoriously ceased, or that they who enjoy'd them have notoriously rendered themselves unworthy of them. It is a Law that is observed in all well Policed States, *That none can be deprived of his Advantages, Offices, Dignities, Estates and Priviledges, save for Crime*; and this Law is so just, that without it nothing is certain: The Fortune of private Persons will be expos'd to the being blown away by any single blast: Little will the being just and honest avail, unless one perform his *Devoirs*, that is to say, unless one become the Slave of the Court, and of all its sentiments, nothing shall be possessed to day, but what one may be deprived of to morrow. This is exactly what is done by the Court of *France*, she neither knows the Right of immemorial Possession, nor Royal Concessions, nor Consent of the People, nor Justice, nor Equity: She tramples and squeezes the People, the great, the small, the Nobles, by new charges: She pretends to stand ever possessed of the Right of depriving her Subjects of all that has been heretofore granted them, though the Concession be in all the Forms that can render the Grants irrevocable: Nay, and what she has granted without reserve, and without Condition, at some Years end she revoaks and annuls it.

This has occasioned the Vexation and Scrutiny of the new Nobles, which has reduced so many Families to distress, and ruined so many Houses: Not but that in this Nobility of new erection there were great Disorders to be corrected: And indeed it is the Custom of the *French* Court to cover its Vexations with glaring Pretexts. It is but reasonable to hinder the Body of the Nobility, which ought to enjoy the Privilege of exemptions, from multiplying, to the burden of the People. It is also true, that during the troubles and licentiousness of the preceeding Reigns, several false Nobles may have slipped into the Body of the true Nobility.

But what Persecutions have there not been committed under these fine Pretexts? since their aim was only at the false Nobles, why must they torment the ancient Houses, and whose Antiquity and Nobility were known to the whole

Pro-

Province? why cavil, and trouble good and ancient Houses upon Defects in Titles, which evidently proceeded only from the negligence and security wherein the Houses lived, it having never come into their minds that they should be disturbed about their Nobility? Why should the Priviledges of the Nobility be revoak'd? what, because they are new? where are the Titles that are not new? A Man spends his Estate in the Kings Service, and for his whole Reward he is often sent back home loaden with Years and Wounds, with a Title of Nobility: Is it just that this Title which he has acquired by his Sweats and his Blood, should be taken away from him, or from his Children of the first generation, without his having committed any Crime that merits Degradation? Where is *good Faith*? Certain Cities have Priviledges, according to which they who have there been Maiors or Sheriffs enjoy the Exemptions of the Nobles: These Priviledges are so ancient, that their Origine is hardly to be found out; the Cities have acquired them, or reserved them to themselves, when they submitted themselves. Be it as it will, it is their Estate: A Prince not being Master of the Estates of his Subjects, has no Right to wrest them from them when he pleases. People have bought Places, to which in all times was annex'd Exemption from Imposts, their Estate has been laid out this way; these Exemptions are taken from them, which is cheating and robbing them of their Estates; all this is an effect of the Despotick and Arbitrary Power, which is a meer Tyranny. After all, what was the scope of that fine scrutiny into the Nobility? Was the meaning to lessen the number of the Nobles? Not at all: The aim was at their Money; and more false Nobles have been made than there were before. For all they who have been able to give great Summs, have been found to have very good Titles. Thus this is a new Tax that has been employed as well as the rest, whereby many Houses have been ruin'd by cruelly exercising it, and according to the Caprice and Avarice of the Intendants and Farmers.

By this same Despotick and Arbitrary Power have been revoaked the Edicts and Declarations that had been granted  
to

to the *Calvinists*, for the Weal and Peace of the Kingdom, and by this Revocation has the Court drawn upon the Realm the most dismal Calamities that (perchance) were ever seen: Those poor Wretches have spent themselves in asserting both orally and in writing, that their Edicts were and ought to be irrevocable; they have reason, for in every *Christian* Kingdom our Rule is received, *That one cannot take away from a Subject his Goods, his Priviledges and his Advantages, unless he has rendered himself unworthy of them*: Nor is the Prince, nor ought he, to be Master of this. But this is speaking to the Deaf; the Court is *Turkish* and not *Christian* in her Maxims; she gives when she cannot hinder so doing; she does good exactly when she is afraid; she Promises, she Vows, she employs Oaths, all that is Holy enters into her Engagements: but these are only ropes of sand, you think you hold her, and you hold nothing; this leaves all in the utmost uncertainty, this is the utmost of all miseries, for the state of uncertainty is the most incommodious of all states. After this, what are the consequences of these Despotick and Arbitrary Manners? They are these: The People remain perswaded that the Court had no Right to take away from them what had been given them: They foster in their Bosoms designs of Revenge, and of casting off the Yoak, and this becomes the Seed of Revolts: This is what is now seen in them that are called New Converts; the Kingdom has been desolated by their miserable Conversions, two hundred thousand Subjects have been lost, the Commerce ruined, the Kingdom drain'd of Money, an infinite number of Persons have been made to perish in Prisons; they have been Massacred, they have been made to suffer Calamities that are not to be imagined, they have been sent to the Gallies, they have been banished into *America*, where three parts and a half of them are dead of Famine and Misery. For the making these Violences to be relished, the Authority of Kings is Preached up; but little does avail their Preaching, little does avail their telling the People that Sovereigns may do all, that they are to be obeyed as a God, that there are no other ways to provide against their Violences than Prayer and Recourse to God; none of them in the bottom believes a



word of the matter; they make semblance of being perswaded just as long as they cannot raise their Heads again, but when any glimmering appears of the Recovery of their Liberty, they rush hand over head to seize the Occasion. The Persecuted *Calvinists* have stirr'd up all the Powers of *Europe* of their own Religion; these Protestant Powers have set Machines a-going for the stirring up the rest of *Europe*: The King of *England* is hereby already fallen to the ground; *France* is concerned at it, does in all parts shut up the New Converts; she thinks her self not safe enough in having disarmed them, she imprisons them, and for ought I know at the long run she will Massacre them, out of fear they should prevent her, in order to procure their own safety. Thus are we by this Despotick Power come to be surrounded from without with the Arms of *Europe*, and within full of Malecontents; if they were of a humour to return us what they have received from us, what would become of us? If Foreign Enemies invade the Kingdom, and joyn these Malecontents, what would become of the Church and Crown? the one as well as the other is threatned with no less than ruine. Instead of making use, in the extirpation of Heresie, of that Despotick and Arbitrary Power which the King unjustly exercises, the States of the Kingdom ought to have been assembled, and with them means have been contrived to ruine *Calvinism*: First examining whether the King or they had Right to take away from Subjects Priviledges that had been granted them, then consider whether it was expedient to make so many Malecontents at a time; and, perhaps it would have been found in the Advices of good Heads, that it is imprudence to make Enemies of our own Children, and thereby unadvisedly and rashly run into troubles. If it had been the Kings personal and his Courts Interest, he might have taken his course as he has done, without consulting any Body. But what an injustice is this, to engage a whole Kingdom in such strange Calamities without consulting it? It cannot be denyed but that the settling or ruining a Religion in a State is the most important concern that can occur. When Edicts of Toleration and Pacification were to be granted to the *Calvinists*, how many Assemblies, how many Consultations, how many

many States were there held? Now *Lewis* the 14th ventures to risque all, to annihilate and revoke all the three States of the Kingdom had done. Posterity will not believe this; at least if the King had had the Consent of the States, the thing coming to succeed ill, he would not have incurred all the Odium. Now it is but Justice that the Court alone be charg'd with our Resentment, but we shall remain charg'd with all the evils, by the use that has been made against the *Calvinists* of that arbitrary, unrighteous, unjust and usurped Power. The Resentment it is true, that is to say, the Vexation will fall upon the Court, but she will not partake with us in the Miseries: Would this be just? On the contrary, it is for her to undergoe the Punishment of her Follies and tyrannique Enterprizes; the People ought to be discharged from the Misery, since they have no hand in the Fault. Wherefore the Court ought to be brought to its Duty; and this is what we will contrive the means of in our next Part.

It is through the use of this Despotick Power, unrighteously usurped, that there is nothing now fixed in Offices and Employs: Well policy'd States have certain fixed Offices, certain Employs to which are assign'd the exercise of Justice, of Policy, of Finances, and of War, with certain Emoluments, and with limits of Power that are marked to them: But in the Countrey where we are, all is strolling and uncertain; the state of Places and of Employs depends on the Caprice of the Ministers, or rather on their Ambition and their Avarice, for these are the two grand springs of all their Actions. When they have need of Money, they multiply the ancient Offices; the King creates new Offices, which he sells very dear. He makes Officers in the Waters and Forrests, Treasurers, Masters of the Accompts, Secretaries of the King. He creates *Bathynicks*, *Elections* and *Electeds*, new Tribunals, nay, and Parliaments, whose Offices he sells very dear. And he assigns to all Offices large Salaries that are to be paid out of the Exchequer to serve for a lure and a snare. But when Matters come to change, all these new Places are suppressed, nay, and the ancient ones abolished: This is properly taking away anothers Estate, and is an injustice; for all



word of the matter; they make semblance of being perswaded just as long as they cannot raise their Heads again, but when any glimmering appears of the Recovery of their Liberty, they rush hand over head to seize the Occasion. The Persecuted *Calvinists* have stirr'd up all the Powers of *Europe* of their own Religion; these Protestant Powers have set Machines a-going for the stirring up the rest of *Europe*: The King of *England* is hereby already fallen to the ground; *France* is concerned at it, does in all parts shut up the New Converts; she thinks her self not safe enough in having disarmed them, she imprisons them, and for ought I know at the long run she will Massacre them, out of fear they should prevent her, in order to procure their own safety. Thus are we by this Despotick Power come to be surrounded from without with the Arms of *Europe*, and within full of Malecontents; if they were of a humour to return us what they have received from us, what would become of us? If Foreign Enemies invade the Kingdom, and joyn these Malecontents, what would become of the Church and Crown? the one as well as the other is threatned with no less than ruine. Instead of making use, in the extirpation of Heresie, of that Despotick and Arbitrary Power which the King unjustly exercises, the States of the Kingdom ought to have been assembled, and with them means have been contrived to ruine *Calvinism*: First examining whether the King or they had Right to take away from Subjects Priviledges that had been granted them, then consider whether it was expedient to make so many Malecontents at a time; and, perhaps it would have been found in the Advices of good Heads, that it is imprudence to make Enemies of our own Children, and thereby unadvisedly and rashly run into troubles. If it had been the Kings personal and his Courts Interest, he might have taken his course as he has done, without consulting any Body. But what an injustice is this, to engage a whole Kingdom in such strange Calamities without consulting it? It cannot be denyed but that the settling or ruining a Religion in a State is the most important concern that can occur. When Edicts of Toleration and Pacification were to be granted to the *Calvinists*, how many Assemblies, how many Consultations, how many

many States were there held? Now *Lewis* the 14<sup>th</sup> ventures to risque all, to annihilate and revoke all the three States of the Kingdom had done. Posterity will not believe this; at least if the King had had the Consent of the States, the thing coming to succeed ill, he would not have incurred all the Odium. Now it is but Justice that the Court alone be charg'd with our Resentment, but we shall remain charg'd with all the evils, by the use that has been made against the *Calvinists* of that arbitrary, unrighteous, unjust and usurped Power. The Resentment it is true, that is to say, the Vexation will fall upon the Court, but she will not partake with us in the Miseries: Would this be just? On the contrary, it is for her to undergoe the Punishment of her Follies and tyrannique Enterprizes; the People ought to be discharged from the Misery, since they have no hand in the Fault. Wherefore the Court ought to be brought to its Duty; and this is what we will contrive the means of in our next Part.

It is through the use of this Despotick Power, unrighteously usurped, that there is nothing now fixed in Offices and Employs: Well policy'd States have certain fixed Offices, certain Employs to which are assign'd the exercise of Justice, of Policy, of Finances, and of War, with certain Emoluments, and with limits of Power that are marked to them: But in the Countrey where we are, all is strolling and uncertain; the state of Places and of Employs depends on the Caprice of the Ministers, or rather on their Ambition and their Avarice, for these are the two grand springs of all their Actions. When they have need of Money, they multiply the ancient Offices; the King creates new Offices, which he sells very dear. He makes Officers in the Waters and Forrests, Treasurers, Masters of the Accompts, Secretaries of the King. He creates *Bailymicks*, *Elections* and *Elected*, new Tribunals, nay, and Parliaments, whose Offices he sells very dear. And he assigns to all Offices large Sallaries that are to be paid out of the Exchequer to serve for a lure and a snare. But when Matters come to change, all these new Places are suppressed, nay, and the ancient ones abolished: This is properly taking away anothers Estate, and is an injustice; for all

the World like to that of a Merchant, that sets precious Commodities and Merchandizes to sale, vends them, sells them at a dear rate, receives Money, and ready Payment for them, and after this goes with his Sword in his hand to the Houses of all those Persons to whom he had distributed his Merchandizes, and takes them away again by violence; this is committing a perfect Robbery. If Kings will be Merchants, at least let them be fair, dealing Merchants: But to take from a Man his whole stock, and often his Friends Money as well as his own, by giving him an employ that may free him both from misery and fordidness, and abrogate that Office some Years after, is a Tyrannick Exaction, and fraudulent at the same time. Sometimes these suppressions of Places are only a means to make the same thing be purchas'd twice. As soon as the Declaration of Suppression is given, unhappy Wretches are seen to throng from all Parts to Court, they complain of the Wrong that is done them, they represent their Misery, they demand Justice, they implore the King's Compassion; at last the Court pretends to be wrought upon, tells them, the King has regard to your Reasons, He will contrive your satisfaction, He is willing to restore you to your Places, but as he stands in need of Money, you must disburse; that is to say, he must pay a second time: It is not in truth the whole value of the Matter, but it is a quarter, or a third, and sometimes much more; and this small Game is often reiterated. Thus have the Judges of Elections, and Attorneys in Parliament been made to pay three or four times for their Places. Sometimes this is no feint, it is in good earnest, really and *de Facto*, that Offices are suppress'd; and then commonly fair Promises are given of reimbursing the Persons concerned what they have paid into the Exchequer; but what do these Reimbursments amount to? To nothing: We must examine how many Years you have enjoyed, cry they; We must pre-reckon how much it has been worth to you; the King did not oblige himself to improve your Money to the Lord knows what in the hundred; from a Place of costing you ten thousand Livres, you have derived two thousand Annual Income, five or six Years Possessi-

Possession have reimburs'd you both the Rent and the Capital. If this Prank be not plaid, at least some other is: for this is certain, that the Court never makes any alteration in Places, save to gain thereby, and not to disburse. Be it as it will, the Places remain suppressed, and the Parties concerned are ruined. But these Suppressions are not for any long time, upon the first War, or upon the first foolish Expence which shall have drained the Treasury, all the Places that had been buried are raised up again: and often as a Grain sprouts forth of the Earth with multiplication, Places suppressed rise up again more numerous than they were before. Specious Pretences are not wanting to adorn the front of the Declarations; the truth is, that they are also mingled with such as are ridiculous; but no matter, all is good, provided Money thence accrues. This is set to sale to the highest Bidder: But this is surprizing, that all People flock to these Markets: A Prodigy that is not to be conceived! when People have been so oft caught in the Snare, and yet run to it again. They who have been so foolish as to buy these New Offices, which the King has lately created or re-created, do not avail themselves of the Examples they have seen with their own Eyes: Do they not perceive that the present Necessity compells the Court to make these Creation of Offices, and that as soon as this present Necessity shall be over, things will be restored again to their first Estate? This Folly in us *Frenchmen* is not a sign we have much Money, or that we know not what to do with it: It is only a proof of our Vanity; We will needs be distinguished, make a shew, and spend high: Now this is a Place will give them Distinction, and furnish them with large Revenues, with which they will have great Equipages, and great Houses. This is a Temptation which they always sink under. The truth is, that this Distinction and great Revenues will be very uncertain, and may easily be brought to nought, through the same Caprice of the Sovereign that produced them; but no matter, playing the great Lord for some Months, does at least raise a dust, and give a distinction. If the Court was not  
in

in Possession of an Arbitrary Power, Places would be fixed, as in all other States ; they who enjoy them by governing themselves well and faithfully, would be sure of enjoying them all their Lives long : The making a Body pay three or four times for one and the same thing, would not be suffered. And thus the Government would be deprived of one of the Tyrannick Means by which it ruins the State, and squeezes particular Persons out of all.

I have much the same Reflections to make upon the Rents on the *Maisons de Ville* or Town-houses and the *Demefnes*. The *Demefnes* ought to be inalienable : It is a Fund that does not appertain to the King, but to the Kingdom and Crown : Nevertheless they are Alienated, they are Mortgaged : Sometimes Necessity, that has no Law, does so require : The present Necessity requires Money, the *Demefnes* are mortgag'd with liberty of redeeming them ; so far I find no fault : But square dealing ought to be us'd on all Occasions ; a Man ought to be allow'd to plead and discuss his Rights against the King, as against a private Person. A Person has furnish'd his Money, on Promise of a faithful Restitution ; instead of this, the *Demefnes* are re-entr'd upon by the right of absolute Power, without alledging any reason to those who held them by Mortgage : And by this means Families are ruin'd, that formerly by their Loans upheld the Kings and their Crowns. There is ever trump'd up some plausible reason ; either the *Demefnes* are worn out of heart, or otherwise brought to Decay, and are not in so good a Condition as they were when Mortgaged ; or that the Revenues much exceed the Rent that might be rais'd from the Summe that had been lent ; by consequence part of the Mortgage ought to be taken off from the Principal, or some other such like thing ; but, in conclusion, the Family is stript of an Estate which it came honestly to, and sometimes had enjoyed for above an Age ; and a Lord, or a Gentleman, who thereby held a considerable rank in the State, falls into utter ruine. If Despotick Power had not place, we should have none of these Mischiefs. The *Demefnes* belonging to the State, and not to the King, it would



would be for the States, and not for the Court to Mortgage them, when the pressing Necessities of Affairs should require it, and the States that should have mortgag'd these *Demesnes* would also redeem them with honour, and without ruining the Parties engag'd.

In like manner the King out of his full Power and Despotick Authority, makes Loans upon the Subjects of his Kingdom; He creates New Rents upon the *Maisons de Ville*, or *Guild-Halls*; He augments the Sallaries of the Officers, on condition they will disburst for the present. As He has newly favoured the Offices with six hundred thousand Livres creation of Sallaries, and with creating for a Million five hundred thousand Livres of Rents upon the *Guild-Hall* of *Paris* at the eighteen Denier; these Rents are paid for some Years, then they are piece-meal retrench'd quarter per quarter; first one Quarter, then a half Year, and at last all: By this means opulent Families, whose whole Estate lay upon the *Guild-Halls*, are become ruined. If these Loans were made to the States, and that the whole State was answerable for them, Peoples whole substance would not be in the Air, nor would they see themselves daily upon the Point of being ruined. If the States have not honour and sincerity as well as particular Persons, they loose their Credit and become Tyrants. 'Tis pity that *Holland* does not take this course: What would become of particular Persons, whose whole Estate lies almost in Obligations upon the State.

Notwithstanding all the Infidelity with which the Court accompanies its Tyrannick Power, the Prince does nevertheless catch his Fish, accomplish his Ends, and the incorrigible People ever suffer themselves to be cheated. Who can forbear laughing to see the Clauses and Conditions which the King proposes in his Declaration for Loans? *The Contracts shall be pass'd before whatever Notary the Purchaser shall desire: They will be so much the more sure of the firmness of the Royal Word. The said Rents may not be retrench'd or reduc'd for any Account whatever, nor the Purchasers dispossessed, unless it be by reimbursing them in one sole and*  
*actual*

*actual Payment.* Who shall warrant the Execution of these Clauses? the King remaining absolute Master, will he not take the same Course with the New Rents as he did with the others? To whom must you have recourse to make him keep his Word? Doubtless the fidelity of time past'd will be a Warrant for the future. The truth on't is, these Declarations say too much to be believed: Nay, they Promise to Strangers, and to People the Kings Enemies, that they shall receive their Money, and have their Rents exactly paid; and that they shall be suffered to pass to their Heirs in Foreign Countries, notwithstanding all Opposition and renouncing the Right of *Aubaine*, and all others. What have People now more to do, than to rely upon it, and carry their Money into *France*. This clause only serves to shew, that the Court means to cheat and deceive in this Case as well as in all other things.

By all those wayes which the Despotick Power of the Court of *France* employs to squeeze particular Persons, it is clear that it arrogates to it self a Sovereign Authority, and a full Right over all Goods; so that there is not a Man having any Goods, or Wealth, or Estate, that can be sure of having any the next day, of whatever Condition he be. There are Places where Elevation is a Rampart that shelters People against Tyranny; there are others where lowness and obscurity of Condition serve for an *Azylum*: Now there is no such thing in *France*, the Richest and most Powerful, as being most in sight, are also the most exposed; and when it so pleases the Despotick Government, they are sent to the *Bastile*, they are put into the hands of a Court of Justice, they are made to believe they have robb'd the King. As for People of low Condition, however concealed they may be, they are easily discovered, and the Court has ever Imposers of Taxes at hand, who ruine them by Imposts. Thus *France* ought to resolve upon being eternally miserable, unless it breaks to pieces that heavy Yoak of Arbitrary Power.

Nay, and if this absolute and boundless Power only tend-  
ed to the Privation of Goods and Estates, People would possi-  
bly



bly contrive wayes for matter of Consolation ; but their Lives are in no greater security than their Goods and Estates. In every Countrey, excepting in *France*, and under *Mahometan* Princes, Innocence is a Bulwark, behind which People live in all manner of security : The Laws are the Protectresses of honest People, no Man can suffer unless he is culpable ; now in *France* there are no other Laws save the Prince's sovereign Will. There is no need of being criminal to become wretched, Innocence and the Protection of the Laws do in no wise any longer avail : Though a poor Man lives in some melancholly corner of his Province peaceably, without stirring, without acting, nay, and without speaking, He is fetch'd away from his House, carried from Place to Place, from Prison to Prison, until that they have clap'd him up into one of the most dismal ones : He asks what he has done, and what his Crime is, desires to have his Tryal, and begs for Death as a Favour ; they do not so much as favour him with a word in answer, his Impatience does but aggravate his Yoak, his hideous abode creates horrid apprehensions, there he languishes, there he dyes ; the cause of his Disgrace and Calamity is a insuspicion, a report, a relation of Kindred or Friendship he has with a Person disagreeable to the Court, some free Word against the Government, some slight Repugnance to Obey the Wills of the King's Ministers and Officers : In short, it is a Nothing, and a Nothing that does as much as if it was an All. Many a poor Wretch is reduced to this Extremity, not for the Good or Ill he has done, but for that he may do : There needs no more Process, no more Witnesses, no more Formality, no more Laws. How many good Divines are there, either banish'd into desert Places, or buried in sad and gloomy Prisons for imaginary Crimes, or for very good Works ? for having spoke the Truth when it ought to be spoke, for having maintain'd the Rights of the Church against its Oppressors, for not having had submission enough for the Bishops of the Court ; the Cittadels, the Jayls and Prisons are now filled with poor *Calvinists*, that have been hawled away from their Wives and Children, without telling them any reason, and, indeed, without being able to

give them any ; some have Quality, others have Wealth, others have the Opinion and Credit of their Canton, all have occasion to be Malecontent ; this is their Crime, without its being necessary to have discovered any ill Intentions in them. What kind of Government is this, good God ! You lye at the Discretion of every Court Pander, Pimp, or other Diabolical Wretch it protects for its ends, and for being of a piece, or of some furious Minister, who makes use of the Prince's Authority to whatever end he pleases, contrary to all Laws of Nature, of God, of Men, and of the Right of Nations.

Is there the less Tyranny in making unjust and violent Laws, and after that making it capital Crimes in the best People, in that they have not obeyed them ? It is the King's Pleasure that I believe that five certain Propositions which I do not understand are in the Book of *Jansenius*, which I never read : Now must I subscribe to this, and if I will not do it, I lose my Benefice, and am sent into Exile or into Prison. Now if it should please the Prince to make a Law to hinder me from believing that the Earth turns, the system of *Copernicus* would become a Crime of State : It is already to become a *Cartesian*, because that the *Jesuites* do not love the Philosophy of *Des-Cartes* ; or rather because they hate the *Theologians* of *Port-Royal*, who are *Cartesians*. In all free and well govern'd States nothing can become a Crime, not being so of its Nature, unless the People have forbidden themselves it, and have consented that the Sovereign makes a Law of it, with a Capital Punishment ; for the Lives and Liberties of Men cannot be justly subjected to Capital Punishments for things in themselves indifferent, save when the Members of the Society do so require it. Thus it is a Tyranny to render an indifferent Action criminal, by a Power and a Decision merely Arbitrary : Thenceforward there are no more limits between good and evil, save the Prince's Will. Yesterday the *Calvinist* could serve God after his manner with full liberty, to day it is a Crime deserving Death. If this be not a Power arbitrary, tyrannick, and tyrannically exercised, I understand nothing of the matter. When the Prince has a  
mind

mind to rid himself of such as displease, he need only to make them unjust Laws, or such as are impossible in their Execution, and which by consequence he well knows they will not Obey, and put them after this to Death on the account of Disobedience. By these means he has Power of Life and Death over all his Subjects, as over Slaves: And this is exactly our present Condition.

To blacken the Memory of *Lewis* the XI. it has been observed, that he put four thousand of his Subjects to Death, and on this score he is with Justice made to pass for a cruel Prince. Now a days do People extoll the Clemency of *Lewis* the XIV. and yet it can be proved that he has caus'd to be hang'd, burnt, broke upon the Wheel, Massacred, perish in Prisons and in Exiles, above thirty or forty thousand Persons; this is ten times more than *Lewis* the 11th. did. The truth is, *Lewis* the 14th. has put no Constables and Dukes of *Nemours* to Death, but the reason is, that he has met with no opposition to his Wills from the great. After the high, lofty and arrogant manner of his sway, the Princes he should have taken in Arms against him, would not have come off at a cheaper rate than under *Lewis* the 11th. for he has arrogated to himself a boundless Power over our Lives.

Lastly, If you are willing to see this Arbitrary Power extended over the Lives of all *French-men*, without either Crime or Disobedience intervening, consider after what manner the *French* King engages the State in bloody and cruel Warrs, and which cost the Lives of an infinite number of People. I know very well that the Right of Arms appertains properly to Kings, they may raise Armies to defend the State, for this purpose were they made; but they ought not to undertake unjust Wars, and especially Wars that tend to the ruine of their Subjects. A wise King ought not to have any particular Quarrels, or any particular Interest, for he is not allowed to shed the Blood of his Subjects meerly to satisfy his Ambition and Revenge. Among all those who have defined Tyranny, this is a Character of it, *The doing all for its own Interest, and not for that of the People.* In fine, Good Kings only

make War to defend their Subjects, and repel the Injuries of their Enemies, or to diminish the Pride of an insolent Neighbour who encroaches and attempts upon the State, or to lessen the Forces of an Enemy, who only waits for an Occasion to insult and to make an Invasion; or, finally, for the Interests of an Ally, with whom one is engaged for the endeavouring the common Conservation: Nay, and the justest Wars are not undertaken without consulting the great and wise Men of the Kingdom, without having sounded the Peoples Inclinations, without examining whether the States of the Kingdom can and will furnish to the Charges of the War. It is not to be expressed how many Calamities War carries along with it, and above all Crimes, Violences, Plunderings, Burnings, Robberies and Murder. A King is very temerarious that shall go about to charge himself alone with so many sins, of which he alone must give an Account to God. If the effusion of the Blood of one single Man forms a terrible Voice, that cries out against the Murderer, demands Vengeance, and hurls him into Hell; What will become of a Prince, that shall appear bathed in a Sea of Blood, which he had caused to be shed? when he shall be stript from those vain Grandeurs that disguise him himself from himself, how can he stand the sight of so many Violences, Rapes, Burnings, Violations and Robberies whereof he will be reputed the Authour, before him that imputes to the Head all the sins of the Members committed by the Inspiration of the Head?

Wherefore there is nothing wherein Kings ought to make less use of Despotick Power than in Declarations of War, and wherein they ought to act less for themselves and for their particular Interests. But there is nothing wherein the King has acted and does act more Despotically. Since his Majority he has not so much as undertaken one War for the Interest of the State. After the King of *Spain's* Death he was upon the hunt after Pretexes to invade the Low Countries: One was found out for him in the Custom of *Brabant*, which to honour the first Nuptials, gives great Advantages to the Children of the first Bed, upon the Father's Goods, though they be Females: The Queen, Daughter of *Spain*, whom the King

King had Married, was the only Daughter of the first Bed, the King of *Spain* was but of a second Bed, this was a Pretext to invade the Low Countries, and cause a vast number of honest People to perish. Though there had been some Justice in the Pretext, what does that concern Us? It is a private Interest of the King: It imported us much, that the King was Duke of *Brabant*. Kings have Arms in hand only for the Interest and Conservation of the People, and we are not obliged to shed our Blood for the Prince's particular Interests. This War produc'd another, which was not more necessary nor more just, because that the *Hollanders* gave bounds to that vast Ambition which began to swallow up the World with its Desires and Prospects, He resolv'd upon chastizing them thoroughly: Wherefore on this Account was the War against *Holland* undertaken in 1672. with such Expences and Preparation? *Only to be reveng'd on an ill satisfaction.* This War lasted six Years, and cost above a Hundred Thousand Persons Lives: How many Crimes accumulated upon one single head! We were forc'd to revenge the King for the ill satisfaction he had receiv'd of the *Hollanders*, in an Affair that personally concern'd him, or rather that concern'd him not at all: For the *Hollanders* had only done their Duty in distancing such an Enemy from their Frontiers, and in stopping the Progresses of a War so injurious as was that of 1672. How were these Wars undertaken? without consulting either great or small, the Princes or People; without having any regard to the publick Weal, but only to satisfy the Passions of the Prince, with a Power purely Despotick. Thus when it pleases the King, and that he has not more convenient means to put us to Death, without consulting us, he sends us to perish at the feet of a Rampart, upon the brink of a Ditch, in a Trench, or in a Field of Battle. Certainly this is having Power of Life and Death over People, as People have over Slaves.

All these Proofs make appear that the Despotick and Arbitrary Government of *France* extends without reserve both over our Estates and over our Lives; wherefore I see nothing more now under shelter. Shall we say that at least God and Religion are to us? Not at all: The Examples we have quoted do



do shew the contrary. I am not now permitted to be a *Janfenist*, and to believe that the five Propositions condemned by *Innocent* the X. and *Alexander* the VII. are none of *Janfenius's*: I am not permitted to believe that the Pope is Infallible, and that he is above the Council. There is neither safety, for my Life, nor my Estate, if I make Profession of Believing what the King has forbidden to be believed upon those matters. Upon what Maxime can be founded the Persecution that has been inflicted upon the pretended Reformed, who have been constrained with Fire and Sword to go to Mass? it must of necessity be upon this Maxime, *The King is Master, not only of Life and Goods, but also of the Exterior of Religion, so as no Person is allowed to make Profession of any Religion save that which shall please the King.* I say that this Persecution of the *Huguenots* must necessarily be grounded upon this Maxim, for there is no imagining any other, and without it the Conduct of the Government is Violent and Tyrannical: And indeed this has been Preach'd above ten Years to these miserable People, *The King will have but one Religion in his Kingdom, He is Master of it, He must be obeyed,* some ring in their Ears. Thus when it shall please the King, We must renounce *Jesus Christ*, and turn *Turks*, for I do not perceive that he has more Right upon the Religion of the *Huguenots* than upon the *Christian* Religion in general. Thus you see the Arbitrary Power that reaches to all, to Goods, Life, Religion.

The Names of *Arbitrary Sway* and *Despotick Power*, are become odious among all Men, Tyrants themselves shun them. *To raise one's self above the Laws, have no other rule than one's own Will, make every thing one's own Interest, hold in one's hand the Lives of Men, and deprive them of them without form of Justice; take away their Estates, and make one's self Master of them; exercise over Free Persons a boundless Power, and reduce them to Slavery.* All People shiver at this Idea, *Christian Kings* cannot suffer it; and for the finding out Examples of this Power, it's thought we must go beyond the Frontiers of *Christianity*, and pass among the *Turks, Persians, Tartars* and *Mogols*; but I beseech you, with t Passion, and without putting things upon the Tenter, consider what we have newly proved of the Power  
of

of the *French Kings*, and after what manner they use it, and see if there be any essential Difference between the *French Government* and the *Turkish Government*. The *Grand Seigneur*, it is true, for the raising of Tributes and Imposts has not any regard to the Will of the People, He disposes of his Subjects Estates as of his own : But does the *French Court* do otherwise? Does it not raise excessive Taxes without consulting any Body, and without demanding Permission for so doing of the States of the Kingdom, according to ancient Custom? The *Grand Seigneur* has seiz'd on all the Lands and Foundations of the Countries he has conquered : D'ye imagine the *French King* does not think he has a Right to do the same? Have we not proved that it was debated in Council, whether the King should not annex all the Lands and Foundations of his Kingdoms to his Demesnes? D'ye imagine that it is out of Niceness of Conscience, that for the having of Money, they take Excessive Imposts upon Salt, upon Wines, upon Paper, and upon a hundred other things, without going directly to search into the Pocket of private Persons, reckon with them, see exactly what they have, and take of them what is judged convenient? Not at all : Not but that the King thinks he has a full Right to what each one possesses ; it is only to avoid Perplexity, and to employ less crying wayes of exaction. The *Grand Seigneur* arrogates to himself an absolute Power over the Lives of his Subjects : He causes them to be beheaded without Form of Justice ; a *Chiaoux* is sent to demand of a Man his Head, he is neither allowed the means of justifying himself, nor time to alledge his Reasons ; nor do they produce against him any Witnesses, or Informations, or Deposition, or Confrontation, or Examination of Witnesses. This is not done, cry some, in *France*, where no Body passes through the hand of the Executioner, without having been heard, Convicted by his Witnesses, and juridically condemned. And thus behold a vast difference between the Government of *France* and that of the *Grand Seigneur*. First, It is not true that the *Grand Seigneur* exerts so absolute a Power over the Lives of Men : Nay, and his Sentences of Death must be consented to, and be subscribed.



scribed by the *Mufti*, who is the head of the Religion. Moreover I do not see that the Forms are necessary in *France*, for the destroying a Man; supposing no Body is made to pass through the hands of the Executioner without Form of Justice, what Form is there observed for the seizing of a Man, and for the putting him in a Dungeon, where he perishes of Misery, and dyes of a thousand more cruel Deaths than a Gibbet and a Wheel? I do not perceive, I say, that any Form of Justice is used in this Case: For without Witnesses, without Re-examination of Witnesses, without Confrontation, without Sentence of the Judges, a Wretch is clap'd up into a hideous place for all his Life long, because it is the King's Pleasure, and he Commands it; neither Pope, nor *Mufti*, nor Bishop is consulted. The *Grand Seignior* disposes of the Fortunes of all his Subjects, he drags and sends them God knows whither, he causes them to be Massacred in unjust and violent Warrs: I do not perceive that the Government of *France* does do otherwise, and it would be a great satisfaction to me would any one shew me the Difference: For my part, I should find a difference therein in favour of the *Grand Seignior*. He has not yet arrogated to himself the Right of being Master of the Exterior of Religion: He never said, I will have but one Religion in my Empire, I will that all my Subjects be of my Religion; I know not whether he may think he has a Right to speak thus, but he has not yet done it.

In fine, To give the whole World a just *Idea* of the Government of *France*, I wish it be observed, that the Court extends the Despotick and Arbitrary Power generally over all the Countries that are annexed to it, either by Alliance, or by Concession, or by Purchase, or by Treaties of Peace. This is the practice of all *Christian* Princes, when any New Countreys fall to them, They receive this New Countrey under their sway, precisely upon the same Titles and same Conditions under which the preceding Lords possessed it: Thence came it that the different States over which the *Spanish* Government extends, enjoy quite different Priviledges, and are governed quite differently. When the Houses of *Brandenbourg* and *Nenbourg* shared the Succession of the late Duke of *Newbourg*

burg and of Cleves, they received the Inhabitants of those States with the Laws and Priviledges which they had enjoyed in all times ; this is the reason why half Free-states live under the Government of Princes who otherwise in other Provinces have an absolute Power. The French King knows not this kind of Right, all that accrues to him by Treaties, Alliance, Cessions, Reunions, and all what you please, accrues to him under the Title of meer Slavery, as the rest of his Subjects : The Cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, formerly Imperial and free Cities, have been ceded to France by the Treaty of Munster, for it to enjoy them with the same Priviledges they had when they were Members of the Empire : Now they are Slaves as well as others. By the Truce of 1684. were ceded, to the King, Alsace, Strasbourg, and so many reunited Countries, to enjoy them during twenty four Years, upon Condition of maintaining those Countries, Cities and States in the same Liberties they had before; the Court of France has made a Mock of this, and there exercises her Despotick Power as well as every where else. The French have wrested from the King of Spain the Provinces of Flanders and Luxemburg ; those Provinces enjoyed fair Priviledges in all times, and the not having over exactly observed them in the last Age, occasion'd there such great Commotions. When the King came to be Master of those Provinces, he became absolute Master there as well as elsewhere : The same has he done in Lorrain, the same he does every where. The truth is, he has received the Cities and Provinces under certain Treaties and Capitulations : The Territories of the Duke of Bouillon, under the Ministry of the Cardinal of Richelieu, were forced to give themselves up to France on certain Conditions that were observed for some time; but the King has made a Mock of the Promises of Lewis the 13th. as he has made a Mock of his own. All that is subjected to France finds it self to be of the Jurisdiction of Paris, where no other Law is known than that of the Arbitrary Power. After this is it to be wondered that the Countries newly conquer'd, and those that are under fear of being so, retain

So horrible an Aversion to the *French* sway ? They are perhaps spared a little at present, but they know under what Laws they live, and plainly see what is preparing further ; wherefore the *Flemings*, and *Germans*, and *Lorrainers*, and *Burgundians*, groan under the Yoak that is laid upon them, and only seek for the Occasions to break it : When they can do it, they will certainly do it throughly.

*The End of the Third Memorial.*

---

T H E

---



THE  
**Sighs of France**  
 IN  
**SLAVERY, &c.**

---

IV. Memorial.

---

*By what means the Court of France buoys it self up,  
 and exercises its Despotick Power : Three of those  
 Means.*

**I**N the former Chapters we have seen the dismal Yoak of that formidable Power which rests upon our shoulders, and the sad Condition that Power has reduced us to. When a body once knows the *French*, it is not possible to conceive whence they have the patience to bear the Yoak. It is the Nation in the World, the most stirring, the most restless, the most impatient, the most given to Change, loving Liberty even to Libertinism. The Court Policy must have contrived wonderful Means to prevent all Commotions, to stifle all love for Liberty, and to curb so many Hearts that sigh and groan under the weight of their

Fetters. It is necessary that we examine these Means, for they are the sources of the Mischief; and as our aim is to remedy the mischief, the causes of it must be known. Since we are desirous to rouse up the *French*, and induce them to cast off that heavy Yolk, for the setting the Monarchy again upon the ancient foot; it is requisite that we make them observe the ways that are taken to fix their servitude; for a stop must be put to those Courses, those means of slavery must be annihilated.

We have heretofore compared the Despotick Power of the *French Court* to that of the *Grand Seignior* and of the *Mahometan Princes*, we have found them in every thing resembling: Now here is again a passage wherein they perfectly resemble: It is in the first means made use of in *France* to keep Peoples Minds in slavery. The *Mahometan Princes* have had the Address to make the profound Submission and perfect Obedience they are to pay their Sovereigns a capital point of the Religion of their People: The *Turks* are perswaded that to carry ones head to the *Grand Seignior's* feet, when he requires it, and send it him without murmuring, is the most meritorious Action that can be; they are perswaded that they thereby gain the Crown of Martyrdom, and in the other Life mount to a much higher degree of glory. The *Grand Seignior* is perfectly put in the place of God, the Obedience paid him makes part of Religion; and it is beyond expression how far this fond wretched Fancy serves to maintain that Empire, which must perish in a little time on the Account of its Violence. As the Charm of this false Perswasion is not natural, it often breaks, and it does not hinder very frequent Revolts from being seen in the *Turkish Empire*: Nay, the *Turks* cut off the Head of *Ibrahim*, Father to the present *Grand Seignior*, and this was done by Order of the *Divan*, and approved and consented to by the *Mufti*; that is to say, by an Act of Justice in all the Forms. But these extraordinary Examples do not hinder the other from being the common Course, and that the *Turks* make a Religion of their blind Obedience to their Emperors.

This is also the course taken in *France*, to settle the Tyranny: There People are taught a foolish *juris* Prudence, and a more foolish Theology concerning the Power of Kings: They

three

there maintain and pay Lawyers at the Bar, Professors in the Schools, Theologians in the Accademies, Preachers in the Pulpits, Historians at Court, and Flatterers every where, who are continually Preaching, That sovereign Princes are the lively Images of God upon Earth, and Copies altogether resembling the Original; that no less Obedience is owing for the Temporality to Kings, than is owing to God for the Spirituality, and for eternal things; that People ought to obey without murmuring, and without examining whether the sovereign Lord's Orders do agree or not with our Interests; that King's are oblig'd and bound to nothing with relation to their People; that there is no mutual Pact between the King and his Subjects; that the Power of Kings is without Condition; that the Duties of King and Subject are not respective, as are those of Master and Servant, Husband and Wife, of Father and Child, because the King on his part is oblig'd to nothing; that in truth he ought to study and endeavour the Preservation of the People, but that if he does it not, the People has not any Right to demand the reason of his Neglect and Omission, or to withdraw themselves from their Allegiance to him: That the King is rais'd above Laws, that he is not oblig'd to obey them, that he may abrogate and change them when he thinks fitting; that the People are made for Kings, and that Kings are Masters of the People, quite otherwise than a Father is Master of his Children; that Kingdoms are, and belong in property, as immoveable and personal Estates belong to particular Persons; particular Persons may sell both their personal and other Estates, mortgage them, alienate and sell them, without being liable to be called to question on that account: That Kings have the same Power over their Subjects, and all the parts of the State, that they can alienate and dispose of them as they think fitting: That successive Crowns are in Families as well as other Inheritances; that the living does naturally enter upon the Possession of the Estate left by the dead, without being obliged to any Oath or any Treaty with the People, and without its being necessary that the Princes successor have certain qualities that render him proper to succeed; that the ill qualities of the Body and Mind, the criminal Dispositions of the Heart, the Ambition, Avarice, Cruelty, the Incapacity  
of



of Reigning, the false Religion, Impiety, nothing in a word can be an Obstacle to the Right of a lawful Prince, Heir of a Crown : That the Power of Kings comes immediately from God, and that they do not hold it of the People, wherefore they are only bound to answer for it to God : That they ought not to abuse their Power, but that when they do abuse it, the judgment of it is to be left to God : That they may take away the Goods and Estates of their Subjects to employ them to such uses as they think fitting : That they may take away Wives from their Husbands, attack the Purity of Women with Impunity : That they may Kill and Massacre their Subjects : In a word, That they may exercise a boundless Licentiousness, without our being permitted to seek for Remedy, otherwise than in Prayers and Remonstrances. That ill Princes are given by Heaven as well as good, that the latter ought to be look'd upon as Presents from Heaven, but that the former ought to be consider'd as God's Scourges, which we are to submit to, and and not go about to throw them into the fire ; that this is God's Right, and that the exercise of it is to be left to him : That Subjects oppress'd by an ill Prince may turn themselves to God in Prayers and Tears, but that they ought never to employ other Arms ; that there is no Case wherein Subjects are allowed to rise up against a King : That though what he Orders and Decrees is unjust, if it be an evil to suffer, it must be patiently born, if it be an evil to do, that, indeed, one cannot be bound to do it, because 'tis better to obey God than Man ; but in this Case a Body must dye and not resist, because that all resistance against the Will of an ill Prince is a great Crime before God : That even under the Pretext of Religion it is never allowable, to rise up against a King, who becomes a Tyrant, who desolates the Church, who ruins its Sanctuaries, who proscribes the Ministers of its Altars, who ravages its Demesnes, who profanes its Mysteries, abolishes its Worship, and establishes Heresie and Idolatry : That the Church ought to groan and complain before God, but that the People have not any Right to stop those horrible Excesses by actual Courses.

All these glaring Maxims are not only yended as Positions of Law and *juris* Prudence, but as Points of Religion, Precepts of *Christian*



*stian* Morality, and Articles of Faith, because that Scripture calls Kings the *Anointed of God*, that it says, *Obey your Leaders*; he that *resists the Power, resists the Will of God*; and that we must submit *thereunto, not only out of fear of Punishment, but also for Conscience sake*; because that the Duties of Subjects in regard of their King make part of the Law of God, of *Christian* Morality: And for fear that all these Maxims remaining in the general Idea, without Application, should not make sufficient Impression upon Peoples minds, the Court conven'd its Clergy and Bishops, in the Year 1682. and in that Assembly had it asserted, That the King is above all the Laws of the Church, that he cannot be Excommunicated either by the Pope or the Church, that Subjects can never be freed from the Oath of Fidelity, for any Cause, no, not so much as for that of Religion: Thus by Order of our holy Bishops, if God sends us in his Wrath a King that tears the Catholique Religion, that sullies all its Altars, that would make us all *Turks*, and employs *Dragoons* to make us *Mahometans*, it will be allowable to dye and suffer Martyrdom; but it will not be allowable to oppose any Dyke against that Torrent, we must bear with the ruine of *Christianity*, and patiently see *Mahometanism* planted, and the Crescent display'd upon the Wrecks of the Cross of *Jesus Christ*. If any one should happen to give to understand that He does not approve of these exorbitant Maxims, great Care is taken to bury him in a Dungeon, that so he may neither speak nor be heard: And as for those whose Mouths are not to be stopp'd, and who assert that the People have established themselves Kings to be their Fathers, and not their Tyrants; that the Right of the People is not to be prescribed; that one is bound in Conscience to endeavour ones own Conservation against the Oppressions of any Order whatever; that Kings cannot have more Power over Subjects than Fathers have over Children, since they are established to be Fathers over the People; that Kings have their bounds, not only in the Rules of Justice and Equity, but also in the Priviledges which the People have retain'd to themselves; that Fathers are the sacred Heads for their Children, as well as Kings are the Anointed of the Lord; and that nevertheless, the Power of Fathers has its bounds, beyond which all Laws, Divine and Humane, *Pagan* and *Christian* do permit the resisting the  
Vio-

Violence of Parents: That the Prince has Power to raise Tributes for the Conservation of the State, and not for its ruine: That the Blood of the People ought not to be squandered away upon the Princes Delights, as in building him stately Houses, and in procuring him an infinita number of superfluities and nasty Pleasures: that Kings have their Demesne, and that it is to suffer a great deal, the permitting a Prince to do with his Demesns what he will for the sating of his Pleasures: But that it is an unheard of thing, that Money should be given by extraordinary Inpost, and that the People should drain themselves to indulge a Kings inordinate Passions. They, I say, who spread about these Maxims, are used in *France* as execrable People, Enemies of Kings, the Pests of Societies, Enemies of humane kind, People that would feign throw all into Confusion and Disorder.

These Clamours, and this great noise stun and startle the *French*, they hear but one side, and by consequence hear nothing; they plainly perceive that their common Sense and their Hearts resist those Maxims of Tyranny; but by continually hearing them vended, the boldness of a lofty tone, and with an air of Assurance, they know not what to think of it; they see the Torrent that is going on that side, the Ecclesiasticks and Bishops falling in with this Current, the Barr not opposing it, the Kings Advocates and Attorney Generals in the Tribunals maintaing these Maxims, the Judges approving them by practice and a shameful silence discountenanc'd and confus'd from resisting alone they yield and buckle under the Yoak, reserving 'till a better time the informing themselves of the truth: If they are not perswaded, at least they think convenient to speak and act as if they were so. A poor *Jansenist*, whose Cassock is rent by dragging him to sign the Formulary, or a poor *Hugenot*, who has the Ponyard set to his Throat for the making him abjure his Religion, thinks to make a great effort of Liberty in saying, *My Estate and Life are at the Kings disposal, but my Conscience only in Gods: Poor Wretch!* and what meanest thou when thou sayest, that thy Estate and Life are at the Kings disposal? If this signifies that the King has made himself Master of thy Estate and Life, to do what he will with them, thou art in the right; but thereby thy Conscience is in the Kings power as well as thy Life and Estate; for as it seems, he has made himself Master of the

the Conscience of all his Subjects, to make them believe, or at least to make them say all he pleases in matter of Religion. If thou meanest that of Right the King has a full Power over thy Life & Estate, to do with them what he shall judge convenient, without being bound to answer therefore to other than to God; where hast thou pick'd up these Maxims? is it the Church, is it common sense that has taught thee them? this is not the place to refute them, and shew their Absurdity and Ridicule: That shall be our Province when that we speak of the means of pulling down the Despotick Power, and of restoring the ancient Laws of the Kingdom. For the present it is sufficient that we have related Historically that capricious Jurisprudence and silly Theology, which is the first means the Court of *France* makes use of to buoy up its Arbitrary Power; let's now take a View of the others.

If there was no other than this first means, it would not have any great success, but the Tyranny is settled by several other means: The second means is, That the King has rendered himself Master of the Church: Who holds the first part and principal of an All, has quickly all the rest: And the *French* Kings have made themselves Masters of the Church, by making themselves Masters of the Benefices and all the Goods of the Church. Usurpers are not made in one day. Long is it that secular Princes have endeavoured to oppress the Liberty of the Church, and with Authority fill the Pulpits with their Creatures. It is clear to all those who make use of their common sense, that the People and the Clergy ought to Elect their Bishops and Guides; this was the course in the Apostles time, this has ever been the practice in all Ages, where the Church has been able to enjoy its true Rights: It is also certain that the *Gallican* Church was founded, and a long time governed upon this foot. But it is also true, that Kings have for this long while laboured to render themselves Masters of the Elections. The Kings of the first Race gave Bishops when they could, and the Church ever opposed it, when that could be done with safety. The third Council of *Paris*, held in the Year 557. under the Reign of *Childebert*, made thereupon a severe Ordinance, That no Bishop be Ordain'd, says it, against the Will of the Citizens, but him only that shall have been voluntarily chosen, and with a full consent by the People, and by the Clergy, and not by the Prince's Command. From that time the *Gallican* Church has ever been struggling with the Popes, and with its Kings, for the Freedom of Elections.

Charles the 7.<sup>th</sup>. caus'd the *Pragmatic Sanction* to be made at *Bourges*, and sent the Original of it to *Rome*; this occasion'd more Joy there than the Conquest of a Kingdom to *Jesus Christ* would have done. The Successors of *Levis* the 11.<sup>th</sup>. restored or annihilated that *Pragmatic Sanction*, according as they stood well or ill with the Court of *Rome*; at last *Leo* the 10.<sup>th</sup>. and *Francis* the 1.<sup>st</sup>. shared this Morfel between them, and gave the last blow to the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, by abolishing for ever Canonical Elections: The Pope had the *Annates* or First-fruits upon Benefices, and the Provision of Bulls, and the King reserved to himself the Nomination to all great Benefices. The Memory of Chancellour *Du Prat*, who did this doughty Feat, remains loaded on this Account with all the Execration of the Church. Since *Francis* the 1.<sup>st</sup>. all the *French Kings* have exercised this Right, but *Lewis* the 14.<sup>th</sup>. has improved it, and extended it much farther than the rest, as appears by the great Dispute of the *Regalia*, and by his undertaking to nominate Superiours to the Religious Houses of both Sexes, who were never submitted to this Yoak.

Now it is as clear as the day, that this Priviledge which the *French Kings* have acquired to themselves by a pure Usurpation, is one of the great means by which they support their Despotick Power and their Arbitrary Sway. It's well known how far People suffer themselves easily to be perswaded by the Directors of their Consciences. A Bishop preaches, and causes what Doctrine he pleases to be preached: He sends and appoints Confessors throughout his whole Diocess: He only admits to Curacies and places in Parishes such People as espouse his Principles. The Court nominates to Bishops such Persons as are at its Devotion, and these Bishops pay a thorough pac'd obsequiousness to the Court, which makes their Fortune, and on whom their Fortune does depend; for the same Authority that made them can unmake them. The Court nominates also to great Abbys, and the Abbots commendatory do not fail of inspiring into their Monks the spirit of Obedience and blind Submission for the King who made them: The Monks are almost ever a quarreling with the Abbots for the Temporality, and for the Kitchen; but this very thing obliges them to live in a great submission for the Court, that so they may partake its Favour: They share in the sordid Complaisance of their Abbots for the higher Powers, that so they may the more easily and with Support cross-bite them in their Enterprizes. Besides all this,

this, it is to be considered, that by this Priviledge of disposing of all the great Benefices, the Court renders it self Mistress of all the great Families of the Kingdom: They only subsist by the Goods of the Church; an eldest Son carries away all the Estate, the younger Brothers are only rich by Bishopricks, Abbys, and other Goods of the Church which the King gives them; and these Goods become as it were hereditary in Families, the Unckles resign them to their Nephews from generation to generation; when a Brother has long possessed these Goods of the Church, if a fancy takes him to Marry, he resigns them to any of his younger Brothers, reserving to himself a large Pension upon the Benefice.

It is easie to comprehend, that all the great Families of the Kingdom, which are only rich by these goods, must needs be in a great Dependency, since they only possess these great Revenues by the Kings Gratuity, and dependently on his Will. In short, when, when the King means to reward any one that cannot receive an Ecclesiastical Character, he assigns him large Pensions upon Benefices possessed by others: Thus the Ecclesiastical Goods are absolutely secularized, and serve only to furnish the Prince with the means of enslaving the whole Kingdom, of recompensing those who are the Ministers of his arbitrary Power, and of gaining to himself Voices for the maintaining it. There is not a man but finds a Government wherein he gains, altho all others lose by it. Wherefore, all the Gentry of *France*, and particularly the Nobility, cannot be picqu'd and out of humour with an arbitrary Power, which gauls 'em indeed sometimes, but which alone secures to them the possession of the immense Revenues of the *Gallican* Church: For if the Despotick power of the Government over the Goods of the Church was annihilated, Canonical Elections being established, it would be no longer Birth, Favour, Complaisance for the Court, and Devotion to its Maxims, that would gain the great Benefices; it would be Vertue, Piety, Knowledge, Learning and Merit, without having regard to Extraction. The Court does also make use of another Means very Efficacious for the binding the Bishops to its service, and by them for the enslaving the whole Nation: That is, its authorizing the Tyranny of those Bishops over their Priests, and over all the lower Clergy. The Priests are the Slaves of their Bishops: There is nothing so miserable, so abject, and so trod under foot as the lower Clergy: while that a Bishop is a great Lord, and is at a scandalous Expence, in Dogs, Horses, Moveables, Domesticks,



mesticks, Tables, Equipage; the Priests of the Diocese have not wherewithall to buy themselves a Cassock; the Burdens of the Tythes fall upon those wretches, and pass by my Lords the Prelates without touching them: The Bishops use their Priests, not as honest Servants, but like Skip-kennels; they are never covered before their Bishops, they have not the honour of eating at their Table, they must troop at their beck, and blindly obey their Prelates orders, as if they were his Subjects, and he their Sovereign. In a Free State, and under a well regulated Monarchy, this Conduct would not be allowed; the Bishops would be taught that they are only the Heads of their Priests, and not their Kings; and that they ought not to govern them save according to the Canons: Wherefore the Bishops and prelates are engaged to maintain the Despotick power, which maintains them. The Tyrants lend each other a hand, and the most exalted Tyrants permit the inferior Tyrants to exercise Tyranny over those that are lower than them, that so they may engage them thereby to uphold a Government, under which they have an Empire which they could not uphold, if Affairs took another track.

*Louis* the 14<sup>th</sup>. the most Imperious, and the most authorized of all Kings, has thoroughly penetrated this Policy, though he has efficaciously laboured to re-unite in his Person all the Authority that was scattered in divers Subjects, he has permitted the Bishops to aggravate the Yoke of the Priests: Nay, and some few years ago, he caus'd a Decree to be made in his Council, by which the Curats are destitutable or deprivable by their Bishops *ad nutum*: That is to say, that a Bishop may remove, turn away, banish a Curate when he pleases, without other reason than his Caprice and his Will: There needed no more than this to crush the lower Clergy, and render it the Contempt of the People, and the Slave of the Prelates. Judge whether the Bishops who reign so despotically, ought not to hold for the Despotick power.

The Clergy make a great Body in the State, but the Financiers, people of Affairs, Farmers, Treasurers, Receivers, make no less great One: To comprehend all, from the first Administrators of the Finances, such as is a Superintendant, (or such as was *Colbert*), even to the most petty Commis or to the Tax-mens Guards. As it has been a great mystery of policy to interesse the whole Body of the Clergy to maintain the Despotick power, it was no less an important ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> engage the whole Body of the Financiers and people of Business,



Business, in the maintenance of the arbitrary Sway : And this is what the Court has been able to doe in this last Age. All *Europe* has with Amazement seen, nay and with horror, the prodigious and immense Fortunes that have been gotten in so short a time. People have been in a Condition to make some Loans to the Ministers in their pressing necessities : This to them was a Door for entring into the Administration of the Finances. And thus in a twinkling have they thereby raised rich and puissant Families; they have reimbursed themselves a hundred times over what they lent. Others from petty Commis or Clerks, have found the means to raise themselves to the highest Employes in the Finances or Revenues : Others have shouldred themselves in by other courses. But after whatever manner they got in, when once introduc'd, they made dismal havock. All the veins of the people have been suck'd, no sort are there of Violences and Villanies, but have been committed to drain them. The givers of Advice have come a-crofs as the Auxiliary Troops of people of Business. An infinite number of men have had share in the Cake : all the Burgesse of *Paris* have found the means to improve their Money by this means, and to interesse themselves for the deriving twenty, thirty, forty and fifty *per Cent.* which according to the Laws ought to be worth no more than Five. The Reign of the Financiers was mounted to such a Degree in the Kingdom, that it made another State in the State, and appeared with so much lustre, that all that was great and glittering in the Realm, was excelled and outshin'd by it. Those Gentlemen were seen to purchase the most ancient Pallaces of the Princes and Dukes of the last Age, pull down those great and Noble Pallaces, build upon their Ruines other Pallaces after the modern way, more magnificent than the Pallaces of Kings : they purchased the principal Lands of the Kingdom in the Provinces, and avail'd themselves of the Wrecks of the great ruin'd Houses : They had Equipages of a Sovereign, magnificent and delicious Tables. In short, never was there so prodigious an abuse, and so immoderate a profusion of Riches ; all *France* has seen to what end the Finances were employed in the time of the Superintendant *Fouquet* ; the immense summes he expended in filthy pleasures, in stately Buildings, in Feasts and Entertainments of an inconceivable Magnificence, in Lands, unto which he assembled all the Rarities of Nature : All other people of Business under him, after his Example push'd those Excesses to the utmost extremity, and set themselves no bounds. And what furnish'd to all this ? the Substance of the People, and the Despotick Power ; the Will  
of.

of the Prince, on which alone depends the Imposts: The Taxes were rais'd according as the Farmers judg'd convenient; the Farms were made to mount as high as necessary, for the furnishing to the necessities of the State, to glut the insatiable cupidity and desire of the Ministers, and to stop the longing, and stnff the vast Voracity of several millions of starv'd people, who devoured all: A giver of Advice was heard as an Oracle; he was produc'd at Court with Encomiums, he was magnificently rewarded; the Recompenses animated others; all people struck in with so well paid a profusion. All *France* was covered over with Exactors, and no body could say any thing to them. If Imposts had been regulated and governed as formerly by the States of the Kingdom, matters would not have gone thus. Thus Crouds of petty Tyrants, who avail'd themselves of the Tyranny, would not have been suffered to reign: These great Fortunes were not raised, save under the Favour and shadow of that Despotick power which says without Reserve, *It pleases us, We will, and it is our pleasure*: For there needed no more than to inform the Ministers, or to deceive the Council, to obtain a Declaration or a Decree, by which, as with a Scythe, they reap'd where they had not sowed.

Thus you have a prodigious Number of people concerned to uphold the Arbitrary Power, for their Reign only depended on that. And besides, tho these people were in great numbers, they found means to engage all the Grandees in the Kingdom in the same Courses. There was not a Financier but had Governours of Provinces in pay, as also the Kings Lieutenants, Commanders of Places; nay, and the great Lords of the Provinces: To one they gave fifty thousand Livres pension, to the other more or less, that so they might lend a hand for the establishment and raising of the Imposts: For the People are not by habit so much Slaves, but that they ever remember their ancient Liberty; they made Insurrections when they could, to cast off the heavy yolk that was laid upon their shoulders. But the Kings Governours, the principal Magistracy of the Cities, and the principal Lords of the Countrey, with the People of Business, assisted to the containing the people in their Duty; that is to say, to the hindring them from doing their Duty, from improving and standing upon their Rights: Thus you see how many People are engag'd to maintain the Tyranny: We have already related, when a Government is quiet, they are not in pain that others lose thereby. Now again, those Gentle-

men who since have felt the weight of the Despotick power, and who have been oppress'd by it, do as well as we feel the weight and injustice of the burden: But then surrounded with Goods, swimming in Riches, they blest'd the Channels that convey'd them to them, and were far from falling into courses which would have been fatal to them.

The truth is, that things are much altered since that time, the Reign of the Financiers is much lessen'd, the King has drawn all the profit to himself. People of that sort are seldom now seen to make those Fortunes they did formerly. There is now no longer any need of giving Pensions to the Governours of the Provinces to induce them to be assisting to the forcing the People to Obedience. The King has wrested so much Authority to himself, and has stretched his Power so far, that at present an Order from the Court, carry'd by a Footman, and produced by an Intendant, makes a whole Province tremble; all bow their heads, great and small, King's servants and Ministers, Magistrates and People. But besides that, this does not redound to the discharge of the People, it must of necessity be that the Despotick Power, and the Imposts continuing, People of that sort will again remount upon their throne. The means which the King uses to keep the People in Captivity without depending on the men of Business, is more burdensome to the State than was the Reign of the Financiers; for it is that horrible number of Troops wherewithall he covers the Kingdom over, and of which we have hereafter to discourse. The King has not gain'd so much in reforming the Officers of the Finances as he consumes in the maintenance of those great Armies. The facility the King finds in Exactions comes from what is called the force of the Government. People pay because they would not dare to refuse, for that they have over their Heads an Authority which seems like a Mountain, ever ready to fall and crush them. But the States cannot long subsist in this violent situation, Forreign Warrs succeeding ill, Civil Warrs occasioned by Malecontents, a Minority, under which the Royal Authority remains as it were eclipsed, cause also the Terror to eclipse, the Forces of Land and Sea diminish, the Commanders of those Troops are no longer tractable and submissive, the People then begin to feel their strength, that find will indubitably return, and then the Reign of People of that sort come again, and makes the Court reign exactly by the same ways by which they made it reign during the Ministry of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and that

of

of the Cardinal *Mazarine*; and by consequence, unless Orders and Regulations be made in that Case, this Ministry of the Financiers, and the license they have of taking all under the Despotick Authority of the Kings Name, will ever be one of the most powerful means for the upholding the Arbitrary Power. As much humbled as are now People of Business, by the Courts of Justice, by the prodigious Taxes they are made to pay, by the diminution of their immense gains, they are not yet recovered from the Charm of that Arbitrary Power, and they would not concur to destroy it; they remember the happy times they have spent under the Favour of that Arbitrary Power, their Pomp, their Reign, and their Pleasures. *Ménero* said, there were three things the King could not take away from him, his Nobility, for he was of low Birth; his Patrimony, for he was born a Beggar; and the good Meals he had had. Thus the Memory of time past supports them in their Maxims: The present, though troublesome, does nevertheless engage them therein, for those People that have been vex'd, tax'd, ruined, have preserved good pieces of their ruine: Of the one the King has taken four or five Millions, of another two, of another fifteen hundred thousand Livres; but after this they still live magnificently and in abundance, they leave much more to their Children than their Parents left them; then they have no other reason than to be satisfied with an Arbitrary Power, which they have long abused, and which at last has not given them such a Fall, but that they are still upon their Feet: In fine, the hopes of the future keeps them within the Principles of the Arbitrary Power, for the reason newly alledged; which is, that they plainly foresaw that the present State of Affairs is too violent and too strain'd to subsist long; it must needs fall, and then People of Business will return to be the Props of the Monarchy, and the Ministers of the Despotick Power. The Court in a while will stand in need of them and their Money, and then as they did formerly, they will be dearly paid for the Succours that they shall have lent to the Crown and the Ministers. Thus you have already three powerful and efficacious means the Arbitrary Government of the Court uses to buoy it self up: We shall see the rest.

*The End of the Fourth Memorial.*